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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre ʏ̯ębegeʷ̯õ
14. Āróre ębegeʷ̯õ
15. Ẹwåguddu ʏ̯ereð kurigeð ʏ̯ębegeʷ̯õ
16. Ẹwåguddu bo'pokẹjeʷ̯õ ębegeʷ̯ð
17. Ẹwåguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
18. Ẹwåguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage ʏ̯åbõgeʷ̯õ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre ʏ̯åbõgeʷ̯õ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

(cåbõgeʷ̯õ half)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre ʏ̯åbõgeʷ̯õ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore ʏ̯oreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe ʏ̯oreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹwåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the
[114] Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the
Ewåguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[775 The maximal expression of the system then would be the
787] following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Otuké SF18

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jauru, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçues* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jauru River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[644] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 Miscellaneous.—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future.

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn.

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative.

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

● 114 Campanha, or Western Bororo, and the Eastern Bororo of the São Lorenço river valley; and a trip to the headwaters of the Xingu river, which resulted in meeting with the following tribes of the Kuluseu-Kuluene region: Bakairi, Anahukua, Mehinaku, Aura, known also as the Vaura, Trumai, Yawalapiti, Kamayula or Kamayura, Tsuva, Kuikutl or Cuicuru, Kalapalu, and Naravute. Of these the Tsuva have never before been reported, and the Kalapalu, Kuikutl, and Naravute have not been described, though visited for the first time in 1920 by Major Ramiro Noronha while engaged in surveying the Kuluene river. The others are either described or mentioned by Karl von den Steinen and Max Schmidt.

So many stories have been told by travelers in little-known countries of the discovery and the collecting of remarkable material which was subsequently lost to science through some adventurous happening, that I hesitate to add another to these sagas of exploration. Nevertheless, as a matter of history, mention must be made that on the descent of the Kuluseu river we met with an accident under remarkably prosaic conditions which resulted in the loss of my Bakairi and Anahukua notes and collections, and the more serious loss of a great deal of equipment, which forced a more hasty itinerary and did not permit me to bring back any anthropometric data nor to carry out the work in racial blood grouping that had been projected. Modern equipment in the form of an airplane saved the trip from being entirely fruitless. By bringing fresh supplies of food and ammunition, it made possible the reorganization and continuation of the work, though the stay in the region was not as long as had been intended.

000 The projects of the Matto Grosso Expedition were many, and it is with regret that I cannot include a discussion of them in the present report. However, it is with pleasure that I take the opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to my companions on the expedition, with whom I shared so many pleasant and unpleasant experiences, and other things that fall to the lot of those traveling in little-known territory. Especially do my thanks go to those who were concerned with my work more intimately, and at times shared in bringing it to a successful end: to Mr. E. R. Fenimore Johnson; to Mr. Arthur P. Rossi, who is responsible for what photographic records we have of the Xingu region; to Messrs. Floyd Crosby and Ainslee Davis for photographic and sound recording; to Mr. Charles Lorber, the pilot of the amphibian plane, and

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP2
Mascoi SK1D

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Descavalldos, a cattle ranch situated about two hundred and fifty miles north of Corumbá, on the west bank of the Paraguay river, was chosen by the Matto Grosso expedition as its headquarters. It offered advantages of possessing abundant animal life, the study of which was one of the projects of the expedition, of comparatively good communication with the outside world, and localities rich in archaeology. Unfortunately the aborigines have practically disappeared from the region. A few Guató families still hunt in the marshes to the south, and a Bororo da Campanha village is within a day's ride of the port of the ranch, but its acculturation has gone so far that there is little left for the ethnologist. A few Chiquitos from time to time came from Bolivia, generally with rubber, over the road which probably has been taken by many migrating tribal groups, moving eastward or westward, for Descavalldos is the end of the natural road leading from the Andean Highlands. For this reason archaeological excavation there is of special interest.

Though a narrow-gauge railroad connects Rio de Janeiro with Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river in the southernmost portion of Matto Grosso, the more convenient way of entering the country for an expedition burdened with tons of baggage is by the Paraguay river. On reaching Montevideo from New York, the baggage can be transferred to a large and surprisingly comfortable river boat, and in two weeks Corumbá is reached. For this part of the journey the traveler would do well to equip himself with a hammock and mosquito net of fine mesh.

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To the naturalist, the territory flanking the Paraguay river still offers interesting material, but to the ethnologist, unless he leaves the boat and penetrates to the interior, especially to the west, there is little. The original inhabitants of the territory have given way to the Argentinian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, Brazilian and even the American. The country has been turned to the raising of cattle, or to various manufacturing projects. The world war hastened the process of transformation. With the need of meat in Europe, the country saw boom times, relics of which are deserted pretentious-looking buildings and equipment. However, small groups of aborigines can still be met at the ranches or the factories.

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Whether met in groups or singly, the aborigines that are close to the ranches, towns or factories, show the usual effects of acculturation, which very often results in reducing culture to almost nothing. For example, at Puerto Pinasco were found a band of Angaité, presumably employed

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MASCOI SKD
MATO GROSSO SP1

to round up cattle for the factory. In the brief time spent with them, no vestige of their own original culture could be discovered. Living in abject poverty under wall-less shelters made of strips of corrugated iron, bits of cloth, and grass, wearing filthy clothing which was hastily donned on our approach, they seemed to have retained nothing but their language. Some Chamacoco and Lenguas that were met presented the same degeneration. However, it is said that when they withdraw to the interior, which is done seasonally, they revert to their own ways.

Corumbá, which was reached in the middle of February, is a modern, comparatively busy port depending on commerce for its existence. The large boats from Buenos Aires or Montevideo leave their merchandise at Corumbá, where it is loaded on smaller wood-burning steamers, to be taken to S. Luis de Careres or to Cuyabá. It is also the real terminus of the railroad line running to the coast from Porto Esperança. [Plate II, 1.]

An air line has for some years been established between Corumbá and Cuyabá, reducing a journey of several weeks to a few hours.

While the expedition proceeded to Descavaldos in a small boat and three barges, I flew to Cuyabá, in order to present my credentials to the government and to arrange with the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios matters pertaining to my field work. The absence of Major Ramiro Noronha from Cuyabá did not make possible the achievement of my motive. However, since General Rondon, who had received me in Rio de Janeiro, had been good enough to send a telegram presenting me to the authorities at Cuyabá, the records of the Inspectoria were placed at my disposal. The presence of Professor Max Schmidt of Berlin at Cuyabá was a fortunate occurrence. So little is known about the interior of Matto Grosso that the opportunity of conversing with Professor Schmidt and of the Inspectoria field men was indeed a fortunate one. Later, on my meeting Major Ramiro Noronha, and on the reception of a telegram from General Rondon giving the desired permission to enter the Indian territory, Major Noronha, whom I found in Cuyabá on other visits, placed at my disposal and at the disposal of the expedition personal knowledge, especially of a geographical nature, which proved invaluable.

Perhaps a word ought to be said concerning the attitude of the Inspectoria in respect to foreign expeditions. On arrival at Cuyabá I discovered that it was forbidden to visit any of the aboriginal tribes

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[text continues on p. 103]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

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Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

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As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of caña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

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On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

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The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

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Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

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Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

• 114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[829] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as
justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 *601 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology, I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for *601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In 561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was 562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
● 114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

same term that she used for them, all those traced through father were divided in two groups according to sex. The informant again overgeneralized some particular rules. Mother and child had different terms for mother's father (iyoqwa and iyedaqa respectively) except in the system of address where he was called iyoqwa by both. Female Ego and her mother will call mother's brother's daughter and son by the same terms (irago and iyaqedu), but male Ego will call them itonaregedu. Of the terms traced through father, father's father and father's father's brother did not fit into my informant's theory, they were called iyedaqa instead of iyoqwa.

Another informant used to construct sets of terms based on relative age, and to attribute these sets to various genealogical positions. The longest set he proposed was the following:

mother's sister younger than Ego:	iviye
mother's sister younger than mother:	ituye
mother's sister older than mother:	imuga
mother's sister much older than mother:	imarugo

This set also does not predict classification without error. ituye in addition to being younger than mother should also be older than Ego. Only the mother's sister who assumes all the mother's responsibilities in relation to Ego will be called imuga. She can be older or younger than Ego's own mother. Finally, the only mother's sister who will be called imarugo is the one who proposed Ego's name, regardless of her age.

The Bororo made all these errors in theoretically dis-

*601 cussing how some kin-types should be designated, or the pro-
114 cedure of finding out how to designate it. In practice they
124 made no mistakes, and they would explain any unusual appli-
cations of terms by some other system connected with death,
naming, and so on. The native theories about how the system
works have been of great help in the analysis of the Bororo
referential system presented above, but I cannot say that the
analysis is "psychologically valid."

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 18 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Araroe have araroo imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Araroe have araroo aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] [181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 [241] But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 167 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 131 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally
designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from
Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to
Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and
Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924,
as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in
/114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of
1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up
to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as
maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26,
37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as
orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer
at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane,
vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

162 In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
[161] 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve
children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri,
that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44
children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

[131] In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio
Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south
latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses
with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 482 [114] Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many [797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 593 [171] Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery. While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after [113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/130 cont./

584 585 [601] to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two [304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 831 [302] What this German explorer is able to tell about the young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502): "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/148 cont./

578 411 [123] embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women [562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 578 521 152 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy, but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive: and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 178 593 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 114 797 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
• 114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, without hope of recovery, his friends and relatives decorate him with feather ornaments and anoint his body with urucú, a brilliant red paint made from

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

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When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

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[P·41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

In January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

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last visit to the Bororo, he spoke in the Bororo tongue with Cadete, an old chief whom he had known for more than sixty years. After a long conversation, Rondon translated for a companion: "He said that I am old and have not long to live, and that I should come here to die, for only the Bororo know how to bury me properly."

[p 49-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

THE BORORÓ INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

By W. A. COOK

14 In November, 1900, while in Goyaz, Brazil, the writer received a communication from the Smithsonian Institution, through Doctor Orville A. Derby, of São Paulo, requesting photographs and descriptions of the aboriginal tribes of Matto Grosso and a collection of objects made and used by them.[1] I here give some account of the journey to Matto Grosso and of the manners and customs of the Bororó tribe.

Senhor Antonio Candido de Carvalho, a Brazilian explorer of large experience and influence and thoroughly acquainted with the region to be traversed, had arrived at Goyaz with his light traveling caravan, and the evening before the communication from Mr. W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution was received, had invited me to accompany him on a visit to the villages of the Bororó Indians scattered over that extensive region of Matto Grosso between the capital of Goyaz and Cuyabá, the capital of the State of Matto Grosso. I did not hesitate to accept the invitation, for with Senhor Antonio as a companion and guide, whose influence over many of the Bororó tribe was great, I would be at much advantage in doing the work desired.

As Senhor Antonio Candido had his equipment, I needed only to buy a mule to carry my baggage and a horse to ride upon, a tent, raincoat, riding boots, and some bright colored cloth, knives, beads, fishhooks, mirrors, handkerchiefs, etc., to trade with the Indians.

We left the city of Goyaz, nearly 700 miles from the Atlantic coast, on November 17, and, following the divide between the great river systems to the north and south, traversed between nine hundred and a thousand miles before reaching the city of Cuyabá, in Matto Grosso.

We rode nearly 600 miles before we began to meet with the Bororó Indians. The last 60 or 70 miles was through an exceedingly wild and almost unknown region of forest and dense bush that made traveling almost like pushing through a network of barbed-wire sieves, where we were constantly raked and torn, and were drenched by the daily thunderstorms.

[1] The photographs, implements, and other objects gathered by Mr. Cook among the Bororó Indians are in the U. S. National Museum.—EDITOR.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance. 533

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear extremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full. 114

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart [123] 136 [132]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
103 of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
114 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sængerfest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

2: Steinen--540 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
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P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

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Chapter XVII.

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On the Bororõ.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororõs da Campanha," or of the plain, and the "Bororõs B Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororõs da Campanha 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororõs do 361 Çabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

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175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We

101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

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101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

● 114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

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●114 touching stories and who was baptized "Sebastian" in Cuyabá. "We shall give a few words which we learned from him." There follow 52 words -- unfortunately copied from the glossary of Martius, pp. 195 ff., and originating unfortunately from the "Coroados" on the distant Rio Xipotó, on the border of Rio de Janeiro, who, like the "Coroados" of Paraná, have nothing more in common with the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso than the unfortunate Portuguese name! Without the name, the disagree-
[361] able confusion* would have been impossible. Moutinho had an

* Moutinho says: "We once showed little Sebastian the sky. He, raising his hands as a sign of reverence, answered us humbly "tupáng" (N.B. Tupí word = thunderstorm, interpreted and adopted by the missionaries as "God"). We showed him the sun -- he said "obé" ("Coroado" word from the Rio Xipotó = sun) and he bowed his head to show respect." No "Coroado" boy ever delivered to Cuyabá knew the words tupáng and obé, and still less did one ever know the reverence so beautifully described by Moutinho. Such anecdotes, however, are taken at face value by the innocent reader and put into circulation. The author himself, in his ignorance, has no idea of what great nonsense he is dishing up in his well-meaning way.

opportunity to inform himself better, /444/ foolishly not utilized, when he visited the village of the tribal division on the Rio Cabaçal called, not "Coroados," but correctly "Bororó." On this visit, which he describes on pages 169 ff., he should have noted that the Indians spoke a dialect of the language of devout little Sebastian. Again he consulted his Martius and there on page 14 found the "Bororós" and here copied 40 words which actually belong to the Bororó on the Cabaçal. Here, too, his ill-luck

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●114 permits us to discover the source. For the words, taken down by the Castelnau Expedition, unfortunately do not have a Portuguese, but a French spelling, in which several double vowels have an entirely different pronunciation than in Portuguese, and they correspond in a manner in which two accounts independent of each other never correspond.

[101] One of the few who, as I later found, correctly assumed the identity of the "Coroados" and Bororó was Baron Melgaço,* as

[113] * Revista Trimensal, Vol. 47, p. 396. Baron Melgaço's civilian name was Aug. Leverger and he was of French origin.

competent a president (for the first time in 1851) as a geographer of the Mato Grosso. "The Coroados lived in the source region of the S. Lourenço; they have nothing in common with those of the Parana basin; I suspect they were Bororó." He merely regarded them as extinct.

In view of the confusion which occurs in the country itself, it is not surprising that Martius has very erroneous conceptions of the Bororó. He discusses them under the Central Tupí;** he

[113] ** Zur Ethnographie Amerika's /On America's Ethnography/, pp. 209 ff., p. 263, Leipzig, 1867.

himself doubts, correctly, that they represent a Tupí tribe, but then falls victim to the strange notions that formerly prevailed about the composition of the Indian tribes and that are best expressed in his favorite expression "Colluvies gentium" /tribal rubble-heap/. "It is probable that under Bororós are understood hostile Indians generally, without any definite designation of names, indeed perhaps occasionally also a Colluvies gentium, which, without a clearly stamped and firmly held nationality in language, customs, and physical appearance, split up into small bands without fixed residence, to roam about plundering and murdering. In Mato Grosso and Goyaz, it is true, individual of the Tupí tribe may be the basis of such predatory communities. But since other Indians

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114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] [113] [131] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenco and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 101 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenco, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

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The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

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291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

● 114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/

[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on P. 553]

/449 cont./

●114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was accompanied by pain and swelling. [115] The Langsdorff Expedition reports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193 [113]

* Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. [114] Rohde ** expresses [113]

** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method, it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú 854 also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú • [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororõ, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on P. 634]

/516 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first
[175] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable.
193 There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. —, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua